Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 03866 01 OF 02 171723Z

45

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 ACDA-19 DODE-00 H-03 NSC-10 SS-15 AEC-11 OMB-01

EB-11 IO-13 OIC-04 AF-10 RSR-01 /178 W

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R 171620Z AUG 73 FM USMISSION NATO TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1202 INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3224

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3866

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR. NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: FRG DRAFT DECLARATION

1. AT AUGUST 16 SENIOR POLADS MEETING, FRG CIRCULATED DRAFT DECLARATION ON TRANS-ATLANTIC RELATIONS (FULL TEXT BELOW). ITALIAN REP SAID THAT ROME WAS COMPARING IDEAS ON THE SUBJECT FOR EARLY SUBMISSION

TO NATO AND CANADIAN REP URGED THAT WORK ON A DECLARATION START SOON. FRENCH REP, OBVIOUSLY SURPRISED BY GERMAN DRAFT, NOTED THAT MOVEMENT TOWARDS DRAFTING HAD ALREADY GONE FARTHER THAN FRENCH HAD ANTICIPATED

FRENCH DO NOT INTERPRET PARA 3 OF COPENHAGEN MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE AS GIVING NAC THE NECESSARY AUTHORITY TO DRAFT A DOCUMENT ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS. UK NOTED THAT PURPOSE IN SUBMITTING EARLIER BRITISH DRAFT WAS TO PROVIDE A BASIS ON WHICH ALLIES MIGHT FOCUS ON THOSE SUBJECTS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO NATO. BRITISH CONTRIBUTION DOES NOT COVER ALL ELEMENTS OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS AND UK IS NOT NECESSARILY COMMITTED TO A DECLARATION. BUT SINCE A DECLARATION, IF DESIRED, WILL TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO PREPARE, ALLIES SHOULD BEGIN PROCESS OF "MIND CLEARING" NOW. SPC AGREED TO MEET AUGUST 27 TO CONSIDER FURTHER STEPS. SPC CHAIRMAN KASTL STATED HE ENVISAGED I.S. FURTHER DEVELOPING ITS "CHECK LIST" OF POINTS TO BE COVERED IN CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03866 01 OF 02 171723Z

A DECLARATION ON BASIS OF CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED TO DATE.

2. FULL TEXT OF GERMAN DRAFT DECLARATION FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

THE POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE ALLIANCE

THE ALLIES

- REAFFIRM THE PRINCIPLES OF THEIR PARTNERSHIP BASED ON THE EQUALITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF ALL MEMBER STATES.
- THE DESIRE TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH ALL PEOPLES AND ALL GOVERNMENTS,
- THE DETERMINATION TO SAFEGUARD THE FREEDOM, COMMON HERITAGE AND CIVILIZATION OF THEIR PEOPLES FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW,
- NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THAT SINCE ITS FOUNDATION
 THE ALLIANCE HAS IN A WAY UNPRECEDENTED IN HISTORY PRESERVED
 PEACE IN EUROPE, SAFEGUARDED THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLES OF
 MEMBER STATES OF THE ALLIANCE, FACILITATED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
 PROGRESS AND THEREBY EMINENTLY SERVED THE AIMS AND PURPOSES
 OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER,
- ARE DETERMINED TO DIRECT THEIR CO-OPERATION AS PARTNERS IN THE ALLIANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATINS FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF PEACE,
- REAFFIRME THEIR WILLINGNESS TO WORK TOGETHER IN CLOSE AND TRUSTFUL CONSULTATION IN ALL AREAS ENVISAGED IN THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, NOTABLY IN THE FIELDS OF FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY,
- ARE RESOLVED TO REDEFINE THE AIMS OF THE ALLIANCE FOR THE YEARS AHEAD AND TO DETERMINE THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BALANCED PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE STATES OF EUROPE AND OF NORTH AMERICA, CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 03866 01 OF 02 171723Z

- STARF FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE INTENTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO TRANSFORM THEIR RELATIONS AS A WHOLE INTO A EUROPEAN UNION BEFORE THE END OF THE DECADE WILL ALSO STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE,
- TRUST THAT PURSUANT TO THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES
 OF THE PARIS SUMMIT CONFERENCE THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AS
 A SEPARATE ENTITY CAN MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL
 POLITICS IN CONFORMITY WITH WESTERN EUROPE'S OUTWARDLOOKING MISSION TO PROMOTE PROGRESS, PEACE AND CO-OPERATION.
 WESTERN EUROPE'S INCREASED INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY WILL
 MANIFEST ITSELF IN FAITH IN TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIPS AND
 ALLIANCES,

- ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THEIR POLICY OF REDUCING TENSION AND OF STRIVING FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITH THOSE STATES WHO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH OTHER SOCIAL SYSTEMS.
- EMPHASIZE THAT THIS IS POSSIBLE ONLY ON THE BASIS OF A UNITED AND STRONG ALLIANCE,
- SEEK A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THEY ARE VONVINCED THAT THERE IS A CLOSE CORRELATION BETWEEN POLITICAL AND MILITARY QUESTION IN EUROPE. ONLY THROUGH PROGRESS IN BOTH FIELDS CAN THE RISKS OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION BE GRADUALLY REDUCED,
- ARE AWARE THAT DETENTE IS NOT RESTRICTED TO POLITICAL AGREEMENTS AND MILITARY MEASURES. IT WILL NOT PROVE TO BE DURABLE UNLESS IT IS BASED ON MUTUAL CONFIDENCE WITH CAN ONLY DEVELOP FROM CLOSE CO-OPERATION AND MANIFOLD CONTACTS BETWEEN PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES.

THE ALLIES WILL THEREFORE:

- CONTINUE THE CLOSE ATLANTIC CO-OPERATION IN PLANNING AND EXECUTING THE POLICY OF DETENTE,
- KEEP THE ALLIANCE INFORMED ABOUT CONTACTS, EXPLORATIONS CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 03866 01 OF 02 171723Z

AND NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AND MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT,

- WHEREEVER POSSIBLE CO-ORDINATE THEIR INITIATIVES IN CONFORMITY WITH THE INTERESTS OF INDIVIDUAL STATES AND COMMON AIMS.

THE ALLIES

- ARE AWARE OF THEIR JOINT RESPONSIBILITY FOR STABILITY AND PEACE IN THE WORLD. THERE CAN BE NO GENUINE PROGRESS TOWARDS A SECURE AND HUMAN EXISTENCE FOR ONLY ONE PART OF MANKIND. DEVELOPMENTS LINKING THE DESTINIES OF PEOPLES RENDER A POLICY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND EQUITABLE BALANCE AMONG ALL PEOPLES ON EARTH AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 03866 02 OF 02 171730Z

46

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

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EB-11 IO-13 OIC-04 AF-10 RSR-01 /178 W

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R 171620Z AUG 73 FM USMISSION NATO TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1203 INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3225

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3866

THE ALLIES

- STILL CONSIDER IT THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF THE ALLIANCE TO PRESERVE THE INTEGRITY OF ITS TERRITORY AND TO PROTECT ITS MEMBER STATES FROM THE USE OR THREAT OF FORCE OF ANY KIND.
- AGREE AS BEFORE, THAT THEIR SECURITY IS GUARANTEED ONLY BY THE BALANCE OF FORCES. IN VIEW OF THE STEADY RE-INFORCEMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT THEY DECLARE THEIR READINESS NOT TO RELAX THEIR OWN DEFENCE EFFORTS BUT TO PRESERVE A MILITARY BALANCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST,
- WILL CONTINUALLY IMPRESS UPON THEIR PEOPLES THAT SACRIFICES FOR DEFENCE ARE THE PRICE FOR PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE AND FOR PROGRESSIVE DETENTE,
- -- REAFFIRM THE INDIVISIBILITY OF THEIR SECURITY.

 DEFENCE REMAINS A MATTER OF JOINT EFFORT. IF EACH ALLY FULFILS

 ITS COMMITMENTS UNDER THE TREATY WITHOUT RESERVATION, THE

 CASUS FOEDERIS WILL, AS FAR AS IT IS HUMANLY POSSIBLE TO

 JUDGE, NOT OCCUR, IF THE ALLIANCE IS READY TO USE ALL ITS

 CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03866 02 OF 02 171730Z

MEANS OF DEFENCE IT WILL NOT BE REQUIRED TO EMPLOY ANY OF THEM,

- ADHERE TO THE STRATEGY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND FORWARD DEFENCE IN WHICH CONVENTIONAL FORCES, TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS PLAY THEIR PART,
- REGARD THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION OF 22 JUNE 1973 ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AS A CONTRIBUTION TO SECURITY AND PEACE WHICH IS IN CONFORMITY WITH THE ALLIANCE'S POLICY OF DETENTE AND WHICH, IN PARTICULAR, DOES NOT IMPAIR THE NUCLEAR

GUARANTEE OF THE UNITED STATES TO EUROPE,

- STRESS THAT THE INDIVISIBILITY OF DEFENCE FINDS
 SPECIAL EXPRESSION IN THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN
 EUROPE. THESE TROOPS, WITH THEIR FULL SPECTRUM OF WEAPONS,
 ARE INDESPENSABLE FOR THE BALANCE OF FORCES, THE MAINTENANCE
 OF THE AGREED DOCTRINE, AND THUS FOR THE MILITARY, POLITICAL
 AND PSYCHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE ALLIANCE. THE AMERICAN
 TROOPS IN EUROPE CANNOT BE REPLACED BY EUROPEAN FORCES.
- AGREE THAT THE RELATIVE PROPORTION OF FORCES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST MUST NOT BE JEOPARDIZED IN THE COURSE OF EFFORTS TO PROMOTE DETENTE. THEY REAFFIRM THEIR CONVICTION THAT A UNILATERAL RELAXATION OF DEFENCE EFFORTS AND UNILATERAL FORCE REDUCTIONS WOULD PREJUDICE THOSE EFFORTS.
- THE UNITED STATES REAFFIRMS ITS COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE ITS FORCES IN EUROPE AND, GIVEN A CORRESPONDING ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE ALLIS, TO REDUCE THEIR STRENGTH ONLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF MUTUAL MEASURES ON THE EASTERN AS WELL AS THE WESTERN SIDE. IN THIS WAY IT HOPES TO BRING ABOUT A BALANCE OF REASON.
- THE EUROPEAN ALLIES WELCOME THIS NEW COMMITMENT BY THE UNITED STATES AND ARE RESOLVED FOR THEIR PART CONTINUALLY TO IMPROVE THEIR OWN FORCES AND TO PRESERVE THEIR STRENGTH AS LONG AS NO BALANCED AGREEMENTS ON THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES HAVE BEEN REACHED WITH THE WARSAW PACT STATES.

 CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 03866 02 OF 02 171730Z

- THE ALLIES
- -REAFFIRM THAT THE BURDEN OF COMMON DEFENCE EFFORTS MUST BE SHARED. THEY WILL GIVE PRIORITY TO THE QUESTION OF EQUITABLE BURDEN-SHARING, NOTABLY WITH REGARD TO THE AMERICAN FORCES STATIONED IN EUROPE,
- WILL MAKE THEIR DEFENCE AS COST-EFFECTIVES AS POSSIBLE AND TAKE ACCOUNT OF DEFENCE TECHNOLOGY BY MEANS OF A GREATER DIVISION OF LABOUR. THEY WILL RATIONALIZE FURTHER, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELDS OF LOGISTICS, RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION AND PROCUREMENT,
- WELCOME THE SPECIAL ENDEAVOURS OF THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE FOR AN INCREASED COMMON DEFENCE EFFORT,
- REAFFIRM THEIR OPINION SET OUT IN THE REPORT
 OF 14 DECEMBER 1967 ON THE FUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE
 THAT MILITARY SECURITY AND POLICY OF DETENTE ARE NO CONTRA-

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 02 APR 1999 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: n/a Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 17 AUG 1973 Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960 Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED

Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO03866

Document Number: 1973NATO03866 Document Source: ADS Document Unique ID: 00 Drafter: n/a

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: 11652 GDS

Errors: n/a Film Number: n/a From: NATO

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path:

Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730868/abqcebqd.tel Line Count: 276

Locator: TEXT ON-LINE

Office: n/a

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Original Handling Restrictions: n/a Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 6

Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: n/a

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Authority: boyleja Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 14 AUG 2001

Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a Review History: RELEASED <14-Aug-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <21-Sep-2001 by boyleja>

Review Markings:

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier: Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: FRG DRAFT DECLARATION TAGS: PFOR, NATO

To: STATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005